

THE REGIONAL GHETTO

Tünde VIRÁG

Centre for Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Department for Regional Development Research, Budapest, Hungary
Teréz krt. 13. H-1067 Budapest; e-mail: viragt@rkk.hu

Abstract: The object of my paper is an area with small villages, largely over-represented by Roma population. In the middle of the 1980s there were one or two small villages becoming ghettos, at present 17 ethnically segregated settlements can be found in the micro-region besides dozens of other villages approaching towards the state of ethnic segregation. As a result of massive unemployment and the demographic changes brought about by the exchange of population, not only more and more villages have become ghettos in the area, but the structure of local society has also changed. In each settlement either the majority of the inhabitants or, in more serious cases, the whole village community is excluded from the labour force market as well as from the education system, which could offer them social mobility.

Keywords: ethnical segregation, regional ghetto, Roma, spatial structure

This article intends to present to what extent the new poverty formed under the effect of the economic structural shift after the political transition in 1990 changed the spatial location of the Roma population, which is otherwise strongly over-represented among poor people. I investigate ethnical segregation not in itself, but with regard to the determinant social changes, primarily the shift in the economic structure and the accompanying unequal spatial distribution. I am going to argue that socio-economic transformation created such changes in spatial structure, which generated a fundamentally new pattern of spatial segregation: the regional ghetto.

The relevance of the study is reinforced by the fact that nowadays researchers belonging to various workshops of social sciences have also called attention to a similar phenomenon: they report on the unequal spatial representation of the Roma population and the regional processes of ghetto-formation (Kocsis and Kovács 1999: 19), the increase of seclusion ratio and the changes in the forms of segregation (Janky and Kemény 2004b: 100). These studies describe the various types of the segregated areas (Bihari and Kovács 2004: 21), and urge the rehabilitation of those ghettoised areas where the disadvantaged population is concentrated (Ladányi 2004).

In the 1990s in the Hungarian society a new social group emerged, whose members can be characterised with low qualifications and transitional or permanent exclusion from the labour market. In this group, where Roma people are over-represented, people are excluded from the majority of the society; they do not have the least opportunity to have regular income, adequate housing conditions, social insurance,

and to educate their children in a way to provide social mobility for them. The social exclusion of this group can be characterised not only with permanent unemployment and permanent poverty but also with an increased segregation both in their dwelling places as well as in the educational institutions (Havas et al. 2002; Ladányi and Szelényi 2002 Spéder 2002 Szalai 1998, 2002).

To describe the structural position of the disadvantaged social groups, which have become socially redundant in the new system of labour share due to the shift in the economic structure, the notion of *underclass* is used in the US (Auletta 1982 Wilson 1987). The European usage of social sciences modified the meaning of this notion to some extent (Mingione and Morlicchio 1993 Wacquant 1993), and at the same time for the same phenomenon the concept of (*social*) *exclusion* is used as well (Kronauer 1998). Ladányi and Szelényi make an attempt at the specification of the notion of *underclass* in a historical context and at extending the application of the notion for rural circumstances as well (Ladányi and Szelényi 2004).

Wilson, while describing the spatial location of the social group interpreted as underclass, primarily emphasises the change in the character of ghetto, which he assigns to the spatial and structural re-organisation of the economy (Wilson 1999). His most important statement is that the institutional ghetto of the 1960s became the jobless ghetto by the 1980s. The institutional ghetto and the activities taken place there mirrored the build-up of the majority society: members of the Afro-American middle class also lived in an institutional ghetto and although occasionally they lived in separate streets within the given district of the town, they did shopping in the same shops and their children went to the same school as others did. In contrast, the jobless ghetto is characterised by the lack of opportunities and social control. The places of work disappeared from the inner city, whereas new places of work came into being in the suburbs unavailable for the poor townspeople of the inner districts. As the well-off inhabitants of the inner districts moved away, as the rate of the unemployed adults increased, those basic institutions (shops, banks, insurance companies, restaurants, surgeries, places of community use) also disappeared from these districts, without which full-right social membership can hardly be realised. With the disappearance of these institutions and organisations, formal and informal social control became more and more reduced in these parts of the towns. In the ghettos of these parts of the towns, the high rate of the permanently unemployed people, the change in the demographic build-up of the population (i.e. the high proportion of people below the age of 19 and above the age of 65) led to the concentration of poverty and to the decline of the social organisations of the inner districts: altogether, to the establishment of the jobless ghetto. At the same time it is worth noticing that the formation of a jobless ghetto does not relate to each minority group living in segregation "Mexican immigrants living in Chicago poverty areas may well be residents of crowded dilapidated buildings, but they are surrounded by small local businesses, many of them owned and operated by persons of Mexican origin, and by Mexican-targeted social services agencies. Poverty-tract blacks are more isolated from jobs and from employed neighbors than are Mexican immigrants." (Van Haitsma, quoted by Wilson 1999: 52)

The question arises: under the impact of social processes similar to the above-described phenomena, i.e. under the influence of the socialist heavy industry

eliminated by the post-socialist economic transformation, under the influence of the cessation of full employment what transformations have taken place in the segregated dwelling places of the Roma population, in the outskirts, in the “Gypsy-rows” at the periphery of the settlements and in the ghettoised villages? Of course, I am well aware of the fact that the ghettos in the metropolises of the US cannot be compared (historically, in terms of the extent of the ethnic concentration or the size of the disadvantaged ethnic groups) to the largest ethnic minority in Hungary, i.e. the Roma people’s problem of social-economic and spatial segregation. I am going to utilise for the analysis of the selected area the theoretical implications of the Chicago case, i.e. when the spatial re-structuring of economy and the disappearance of work from a given area creates a special pattern of ethnic segregation, the jobless ghetto.

The area under survey is a micro-region consisting of small villages strongly over-represented by the Roma population. In this area socialist, centrally planned development of industry, the opportunity of industrial employment reached the settlements in various periods of time to a various extent, but the collapse of this system equally influenced each settlement. My research carried out in the Encs micro-region in Cserehát,¹ the surveys covering all primary schools and all schoolchildren in the whole micro-region² make it possible to investigate the social and ethnic segregation not only in a given settlement, but also in a larger territorial unit of several settlements. Similarly to Wilson’s analysis, the change in the intensity of ethnic segregation is scrutinized not in itself, but, in a complex manner, with regard to the transformation of the economic structure and employment opportunities of the micro-region, together with the still-lasting formation of the demographic and ethnic build-up induced by the political decisions of the 1960s and 1970s.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF WORK

A considerable part of the area under scrutiny is situated on the periphery of the industrial agglomeration of the Sajó valley in north-eastern Hungary that was centrally developed in the era of socialism. This area does not belong to the outer commuting belt of the Borsod industrial area with the centre of the county seat, Miskolc (Barta et

1 I had the opportunity to design the research project, to carry out survey and to analyse data in the research subprogram entitled *Segregation at dwelling places* led by István Kemény at the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I analyse the settlements belonging to Encs micro-region according to the official arrangement of micro-regions in force in Spring 2002 at the beginning of the research project.

2 In the framework of the full scope survey carried out in the schools of the Encs micro-region we have data about 4497 children. Since nowadays the teachers about the employment status of the schoolchildren’s parents record no data, therefore we could only rely on the information provided by the teachers. In course of the interviews made with the headmasters as a sensitive question of opinion we asked for information about each children of the class, whether the teacher regards him/her poor or not, Roma or not, and what the employment status of the parents are like in the household from where the child comes. Of course I am well aware of the fact that the outcome of the teachers’ ethnic categorisation is not identical with the Roma ethnic group. In the article, when I make statements about Roma people these always refer to a group of people regarded as Roma by the external social setting, in this case, by the teachers at the primary schools of the micro-region.

al. 1975), which means that daily commuting from these settlements to industrial centres was practically impossible with the exception of those larger settlements that had a direct railway line with through trains towards Miskolc.

By the middle of the 1980s among the settlements of the micro-region considerable differences were shaped depending on how regularly and intensively the Roma population could get involved in the modernisation processes in the area.³ In this case it primarily meant extensive industrialization and regular work in the industry for the local inhabitants. Consequently, by the 1980s these settlements, on the basis of the position of the local Roma population in the division of labour, can basically be divided into two types: (1) settlements, where the majority of Roma fathers had the opportunity to regularly and permanently work in industry even in the early period of extensive industrialisation, and (2) settlements from where Roma fathers only seasonally, in the case of considerable labour force demand or in the case of the complete depletion of labour force reserves could work in the industry and, generally, their employment for quite some time took place only locally, primarily in the agricultural co-operatives.

Employment opportunities in the industry were fundamentally determined by the geographical location of the settlement. To the first group of the settlements, besides the centre of the micro-region, Encs, those villages belong, that are in a favourable vehicular position. These settlements can be found by the main road, have railway stations from where it was relatively easy to daily commute to Miskolc. Since from these settlements the places of work of the Borsod industrial area were easily accessible, the resident population of these settlements did not reduce even in the period of large-scale out-migration in the 1980s.

Those Roma fathers who began to work in the industry before the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s and who could keep their jobs for a long time until the collapse of the socialist heavy industry, until the middle / end of the 1980s, could fundamentally change their style of living owing to the income, prestige and enculturation advantages. These fathers sooner or later became industrial lease workers, more or less formed part of the labour market and had considerably higher income than that accessible in agriculture. They belong to the “huge mass of being on way” (Kemény 1972), to those who escaped to industry because of agrarian overpopulation, and part of them – primarily the non Roma people who generally had more resources – moved closer to their places of work, whereas another part of them remained, but they changed their own style of living locally. Together with this change of lifestyle, the structure of families also was also modified as the childbirth attitudes changed. Lease work, independent of the socio-economic life of the village and its established social network, made it possible for Roma families to significantly change their position formerly occupied in the local society.

As a consequence of the lifestyle change induced by industrial lease work, the spatial position of the families within the villages was also transformed. In settlements

3 For the analysis of the formation of differences among the settlements I made case studies in the primary schools belonging to the settlements under survey, primarily relying on the data about the employment status of the schoolchildren's parents recorded in the attendance books in the 1970s–1980s. Cf. Virág 2005.

with relatively favourable transport connections, with increasing resident population, where the Roma fathers had the opportunity to work in the industry regularly from the 1960s there are such streets where Roma and non Roma people, often with state subsidy, built the so-called 'cubic houses' (Szelényi 1992) for themselves indicating their changed lifestyle. Yet, this change nowhere related to all Roma families. Even in these settlements a lot of Roma remained in the "Gypsy-row" or among the poor at the periphery of the village.

To the second group of the settlements those settlements can be assigned where the majority of the Roma fathers could not or could only seasonally work in industry. From these settlements the centrally established industrial centres could not or could hardly be reached, therefore, after the organisation of agricultural co-operatives in these villages an increased out-migration was observable. Nevertheless, this could be carried out only by those who had more resources, i.e. by non-Roma people. The families having no such resources to finance moving away (and the majority of them were Roma families, who often had had the opportunity to move in the village from the periphery precisely because of the moving away of the local peasants to urban centres), in this way were excluded from the advantages provided by industrial work. They could usually find jobs only in the local co-operatives for considerably lower wages. From these settlements these families could find long-term job opportunity in industry only if a mine or factory had labour force supply problems and provided a special bus for the workers from these settlements to the place of work. To this group of settlements both administrative centres as well as villages without administrative functions belong.

In the case of those Roma families where the fathers did not have the opportunity or they had but only seasonally to work in industry lifestyle did not or only moderately changed. These people's labour opportunities were confined to the village, which in this area meant various jobs in the agricultural co-operatives. The employment position of the Roma fathers working locally in the villages changed only to some extent, e.g. a former shepherd with an annual contract could become a tender in the co-operative, and a former day labourer could work as a simple agricultural worker also in the local co-operative. Although due to these factors the income of the Roma families became more regular and calculable, and their living and educational conditions improved, yet, their social status within the village community hardly changed. Their spatial position within the settlement changed moderately also, since the number of outskirts and "Gypsy-row" houses reduced due to the social policy of the socialist era and because of the large-scale out-migration of the other villagers, since from these places the majority of the Roma families could move to the end of the village. All this, however, did not change the fact that most of them were unable to move away from the poorest parts of the villages or from those small villages from where everybody else moved away, therefore these settlements or parts of settlements became ghettoised by the end of the 1980s.

Due to the socio-economic changes beginning from the end of the 1980s in these settlements (settlements in favourable transport position, and settlements with and without administrative functions) basically the same harsh processes began, owing to

which the society of the settlements began to change in a certain way. These changes had effect on the whole micro-region.

Even at an early period of economic transformation significant regional differences could be observed in terms of the rate of the unemployed in the country. In summer 1990, 20 per cent of all the Hungarian unemployed lived in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County. The differences could be grasped not only at a national or regional, but also at the micro-regional level: in March 1992 the highest rate of unemployment (27–28%) in Hungary was pointed out in the micro-region of Encs (Aradi 1992: 4).

In the north-eastern part of the country the highest rate of unemployment was coupled with the lowest level of qualifications and with the highest rate of Roma population in the country. Ábrahám and Kertesi (1996), using a statistical model, came to the conclusion that in the early phase of unemployment Roma people were over-represented among the similarly under-qualified unemployed, which means that they were discriminated in course of engagement and dismissal, too. In this period in areas with high rate of Roma population discrimination against Roma labour force could be an adequate means to protect non-Roma workers from unemployment (Ábrahám and Kertesi 1996; Kertesi 1995, 2000). This strategy came to an end when the crisis of employment covered the scope of skilled workers and even more qualified workers as well.

By 1994 the signs of economic consolidation were visible, and the rate of unemployment did not increase in these years. Whereas in West-Central Hungary and in Pest County unemployment began to fall under the effect of foreign capital investments and the accompanying new work opportunities, meanwhile, in the disadvantaged areas such as the area under survey, it was rather the outcome of certain measures of state social policy that the rate of unemployment began to decrease. By this time the permanently unemployed people could not make use of either unemployment benefit or eligibility for supplementary income allowance. With this a lot of people remained outside the system of social care, they were not registered either as labourers or as unemployed. The luckier became inactive as pensioners. In these disadvantaged areas work necessary for eligibility was possible as being employed as workers of public utility, with which the unemployed may become quasi employed. The local councils usually have limited circumstances to employ workers of public utility, and most often they are employed only for a period minimally necessary to be eligible for unemployment benefit.

In those settlements where long-term employment is almost impossible, sharp fight takes place among the various groups of the inhabitants for the opportunities offered by the subsidized secondary labour force market. Because of the appreciation of the public utility jobs and the benefits disbursed by the local councils a mutual relationship of dependency is being shaped between the leaders of the local council and the residents of a given settlement.

The differences between the settlement types in the micro-region under survey can be traced back to the era before 1990. The number of the employed people increased even between 1980 and 1990 in settlements that were in a favourable transport position, and in this decade an extended employment of women could also be observed. In characteristically agricultural areas in the villages with common councils

only a moderate decrease can be pointed out, but in the settlements without councils the employment rate began to decrease already between 1980 and 1990.

Table 1. The rate of the employed within the whole population by settlement types, 1980–2001

	1980	1990	2001
Encs (town)	44.6	44.1	29.9
Settlements with good transport connection	41.3	53.3	23.1
Common councils of joint villages	35.7	35.6	20.4
Villages without councils	38.3	26.8	14.5

Source: My own calculations on the basis of the annual volumes of the Hungarian national census.

After 1990 the number of the employed drastically decreased in each settlement type. The decline in the degree of employment commenced soonest in the settlements without councils, where already in the 1980s a serious fall-back could be experienced, which further continued in the 1990s. The largest-scale change took place in those settlements with favourable transport connections from where the workplaces of the Borsod industrial areas were accessible, since the elimination of these places of work resulted in a drastic decrease of the employment rate of the inhabitants in these settlements.

The employment of the inhabitants of the rural administrative centres and the micro-regional centres decreased to a lesser extent, there is only difference of stage between them. All this is due to the presence of the institutions of social care provision concentrated in these settlements: kindergartens, primary schools, institutions of health care and public administration. The rather low employment rate within the micro-region cannot be simply explained by the ageing population, since taking a glance at the rate of the unemployed similar differences can be pointed out with regard to the active age group, the population between the age of 15 and 60.

Table 2. The ratio of the employed within the population aged between 15–60, in 2001, in the Encs micro-region, in Borsod-Abaúj Zemplén County and in the settlement types of the micro-region

Borsod-Abaúj -Zemplén County	The micro-region of Encs	The town of Encs	Settlements with good transport connections	Common council of joint villages	Villages without councils
43.0	37.3	48.4	38.4	36.3	29.1

Source: My own calculations on the basis of the annual volumes of the Hungarian national census.

The rate of the employed is the lowest in those settlements that formerly were functionless in public administrative terms, where only every third or fourth adult between the age of 15 and 60 is employed. The situation is to some extent more favourable in the rural administrative centres and in the larger settlements with favourable transport connections, where several public institutions can be found. The

employment status of those people who live in micro-regional centres is considerably more favourable, it even exceeds the county average.

According to a survey carried out at the primary schools in spring 2002, 32.5% of the school-aged children are from such families where the parents have got no regular income; they are not active in the labour market, and make a living relying solely on benefits, allowances and occasional jobs. If we take a look at the same data in terms of ethnic groups, it comes out that 66.2 per cent of Roma children, whereas only 9.2 per cent of non-Roma children are from families with no regular income. In the case of families where both parents have regular income, the ethnic ratio is just the contrary: only 6.5 per cent of Roma children are from such families, whereas this ratio in the case of non-Roma children is 57.9%. The differences and disproportionateness in the employment status of the parents of Roma and non-Roma children is just too strikingly evident.

The data of parental employment based upon information provided by the schoolchildren's teachers are quite similar to those that Gábor Kertesi reported of in a representative Roma survey about the employment of under-qualified Roma men in 1993 and 2003 (Kertesi 2005: 61).

Table 3. The employment of the parents of children by ethnic groups in the Encs micro-region

	No regular income	1 regular income	2 regular incomes	Altogether %, person
Roma	66.2	27.3	6.5	100 (1685)
Non-Roma	9.2	32.9	57.9	100 (2454)
Altogether %	32.5	30.6	36.9	100 (4139)

Source: School data survey in spring 2002.

To sum up: it can be claimed that the collapse of the industry and agriculture in the country, together with the redistribution of material wealth narrowed down the employment possibilities of the inhabitants of this micro-region to such an extent that the statement according to which the majority of the resident population of the micro-region have got no relation to the labourmarket, and the chance of regular employment simply disappeared in this area is more than verifiable.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

The area under survey is such a part of Hungary where the population decreases since the beginning of the 20th century. This decrease in the population sped up in the 1960s and 1970s. In this process a landmark was the National Settlement Network Development Concept in 1971, owing to which from those villages that were identified as devitalised almost all resources and institutions were taken away, and these settlements remaining, without functions, were attached to centres of a district

(common councils of joint villages). With this measure the disadvantaged settlements without functions and councils, the majority of them small villages, got into a futureless situation and the inequalities among the settlements were reinforced. As a consequence of the spontaneous processes induced by industrialisation as well as the amplifying planned processes of centralisation, reinforced inequalities came into being among the settlements with regard to the infrastructural conditions and access to more favourable places of work determining the local population's standard of living in the 1970s.

The most obvious consequence of the unfavourable situation is reflected in the demographic changes. Between 1960 and 1990 the settlements of the Encs micro-region lost one fourth of their resident population. In the 1980s the pace of out-migration decreased, but the highly selective character of out-migration (the ratio of active income-earners decreased to a considerably higher extent than the average population decrease, and primarily young skilled workers left the area behind themselves, (Barta et al. 1975), completely transformed the social and demographic structure of the settlements. This tendency led to a constant ageing process in the majority of the settlements.

Between 1990 and 2001 the resident population of the micro-region increased, both the natural increase and the migration balance became positive. In some settlements selective out-migration went on or even sped up and parallel with this a contrary process commenced: in-migration. Therefore in this case it is more precise to use the expression "exchange of population". People of higher status continued moving away from the area, whereas the chanceless, those people, who formerly moved to towns but subsequently lost their jobs, were forced to go back to their former places of residence: to small villages.

Table 4. The transformation of resident population in the Encs micro-region 1970–2001

	Resident population	Natural decrease or increase	Migration difference
1970	41 281	–	–
1980	38 036	1900	–5145
1990	34 743	–183	–3110
2001	35 163	211	209

Source: My own calculations on the basis of the annual volumes of the Hungarian national census.

In the decades preceding the change of regime only the population of the micro-regional centre as well as the settlements with favourable transport conditions increased, and this increase goes on even nowadays. One of the most important demographic changes after 1990 in the micro-region is that in some "settlements without councils" public, which lost at least half of their resident population between 1960 and 1990, the population began to grow after 1990, in complete opposition to nationwide demographic tendencies. In these settlements, which should have been uninhabited by this time according to the centralisation plan of the socialist era, after

1990 such a process began that nobody had taken into consideration previously: owing to an increase in the number of births the number of the resident population has increased and the migration balance has also become positive.

In another part of these settlements the increase of population (due to an increased number of births and in-migration) cannot yet be pointed out, because this tendency is still balanced by the presence of the remaining ageing population. In some formerly functionless settlements the population is ageing. Yet, a thorough analysis of the data reveals that there is only a temporal difference /shift in the actual process which otherwise takes place in all the three types of settlements.

It is not only the demographic changes of the resident population in the micro-region that are divergent from the national tendency, but the age structure of the population as well. Whereas at a nationwide level the ratio of population under the age of 15 within the whole population is 16.6%, in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County it is a bit more, 19.1%, while in the Encs micro-region every fourth inhabitant is under the age of 15. All this refers to the fact that the lack of existential perspectives, exclusion from labour market, permanent deep poverty of the families in this micro-region fundamentally changed the attitude towards birth control (Durst 2000; Ladányi and Szelényi 2004).

Table 5. The ratio of population below the age of 15 within the whole population in the micro-region and in the county as compared to the national average

	Hungary	B.A.Z. County	Encs micro-region
The ratio of persons under the age of 15 within the resident population	16.6	19.1	24.0

Source: My own calculations on the basis of the annual volumes of the Hungarian national census.

Altogether it can be pointed out that the demographic turn taking place in this area (the resident population begins to grow in a way that both the number of births increased and the migration balance proved to be positive) is completely in contrast with the national trend. The growth of the resident population relates not only to the larger settlements but also to functionless, deserted small villages.

THE CHANGE OF ETHNIC PROPORTIONS

About the changed ethnic proportions within the micro-region those educational statistics provide information in which the teachers had to indicate the number of Roma children in each class. These school statistics were compiled until 1992, and were used on an ethnic assignment based on the teacher's knowledge just as in the survey we carried out in 2002 (Solt 1998: 296;⁴ Havas et al. 2002: 23). Gábor Kertesi,

4 In course of her fieldwork Otilia Solt very precisely recorded the process of ethnic categorisation and the interests influencing the process. In course of the school survey in 1999 I had the same experiences in this respect (Virág 2000: 70).

for the sake of comparability, projects the statistical data of primary schools to an identical territorial unit, using the former district/town scheme valid in 1970. Since these figures from the primary schools are full scope, they provide a relatively reliable overview about the spatial distribution of Roma population in the case of smaller territorial units. The data provided by Kertesi by districts (Kertesi and Kézdi 1998) and the comprehensive school survey I carried out in 2002 spring in the micro-region do not refer to the same territorial unit. The district incorporated more settlements than the micro-region does,⁵ but in my opinion this is only a slight difference and because of the homogeneity of the area it does not significantly influence ethnic ratio, therefore although the data from 1992 and from 2002 cannot be directly compared but the comparison can be performed in proportions.

Table 6. Change in the rate of the Roma schoolchildren in the Encs district and micro-region, as well as in the county and in the country

	National average %	B.A.Z. County %	District/micro-region of Encs %	The number of school-age children in the district/micro-region of Encs	The number of non-Roma school-children in the district/micro-region of Encs in	The number of Roma school-children in the district/micro-region of Encs in
1970	5.3	12.8	22.7	8558	6611	1947
1980	5.9	14.6	21.9	7638	5959	1679
1989	6.2	13.8	24.6	6257	4717	1540
1992	7.1	15.9	27.8	5949	4291	1658
2002	no data	no data	43.6	(4497)	(2535)	(1962)

Source: Kertesi and Kézdi 1998: 316.

The researches of István Kemény point out that the estimated ratio of the Roma population is the highest in the eastern region of Hungary (Janky and Kemény 2004). Yet, if smaller territorial units are under scrutiny, further harsh differences can be detected. It is clear from the table above that the ratio of school-aged Roma children in the Encs micro-region was very high decades ago, it was almost double the county average and it was four times higher than the national average.

According to school statistics in 1970 22.7 per cent of the school-age children were Roma. In the decade between 1970 and 1980 the number of Roma children decreased by 268, while their ratio decreased by 0.8 per cent at schools. In this period in demographic terms the micro-region was characterised by a high natural increase and by a significant out-migration. The implication of these data is that the families of Roma and non-Roma children were similarly involved in out-migration. The ratio of

⁵ 82 settlements belonged to the district of Encs. Owing to the centralisation process that has taken place since then nowadays 78 settlements can be found instead of 82. The district, as a matter of fact, consisted of the 55 settlements belonging to the Encs micro-region at the time of my research in addition to a considerable part of the present Szikszó micro-region.

Roma children in 1989 was 24.6% at primary schools in the district, which is by 2.7% higher than the ratio of 1980. Between 1980 and 1989 the ratio of Roma children grew, their number decreased, and the non-Roma children's ratio as well as their number also decreased. Consequently, in this period it was rather the non-Roma families that could move away from the area, whereas the Roma families had lesser opportunity to do so. The number of Roma and non-Roma school children continuously decreased until 1989, but between 1989 and 1992 the ratio of Roma children increased by 3.2 %, but in these years their number also grew. It is this period, when the several decade-long demographic tendency began to be reversed and the number of the micro regional population began to grow.

The ratio of Roma children at school significantly increased (with 15.8%) between 1992 and 2001. This huge change in proportions cannot simply be explained by the divergent number of births. It is probable that the Roma families remained stuck in the area, they could not move away; and, in addition from the end of the 1980s several poor, mainly Roma families moved into the area, whereas the continuous out-migration of non-Roma families sped up. In this area, always over-represented by the Roma population, in the 1990s ethnic concentration sped up, and at present almost every second schoolchild is considered to be Roma at schools.

To summarize the social changes of the micro-region: it can be stated that under the effect of the structural change in the economy induced by the political changes, places of work became eliminated in the area, whereas new places of work were formed at such a distance which made it impossible for the local inhabitants to get access to them. Selective out-migration continued, but the demographic and ethnic structure of those families who were unable to move away changed: the ratio of the population under the age of 15 within the whole population is significantly higher than the county and the national average, and ethnic concentration was intensified considerably. At present within the resident population of the area every fourth inhabitant is under the age of 15 and almost every second child is considered as Roma in the area.

GHETTOISED VILLAGES FORM A GHETTOISED AREA

In order to get a more detailed picture of what settlements can be characterised with ethnic concentration, I grouped the settlements of the micro-region according to the ratio of Roma children. In fifteen settlements of the Encs micro-region either there are not any Roma families or there is only one. In these settlements only a minor part of the school-age population of the micro-region lives (6.9%). These settlements, with one exception, are all small villages with less than 500 persons as resident population. Out of the 14 settlements less than 200 people live in 9 villages, and in these villages the number of school-age children is often only two or three, but this number never exceeds ten. About these nine settlements it can be predicted that if in the future no change takes place they are going to be completely uninhabited.

Table 7. Grouping of the settlements in Encs micro-region according to the ratio of Roma schoolchildren living in the settlements

The ratio of school-age children in the settlement having	The ratio of school-age children within the given settlement type	Number of settlements	Settlements with less than 500 permanent residents
No Roma residents	6.9	14	13
“Few” Roma residents (under 30 %)	24.9	7	2
“Medium sized Roma population” (between 30–60 %)	29.0	16	9
“A lot of” Roma residents (above 60 %)	39.2	17	12
Altogether	100 (N=3632)	54	36

Source: School data survey in spring 2002.

There are seven villages where the ratio of Roma children is under 30%. With the exception of two villages all these are such larger settlements, which by their geographic location are in an exceptional position, as they are very close to the micro-regional centre or are situated by the major railway line. In the majority of these settlements, owing to the favourable transport position, the number of resident population has not decreased in the past decades, moreover, it increased. As far as the spatial distribution of the various social groups, Roma and non-Roma people is concerned, the situation reflects the general tendency at nationwide level: the poorest Roma families live in the “Gypsy-row” and the so-called “Cs-ház” colony,⁶ the more well-off families live scattered in the village.

The social structure of the village community is in a change in the majority of those 16 settlements, where the ratio of school-age Roma children is between 30 and 60%. It is in these settlements where 29 per cent of the school-age children of the micro-region lives. The majority of these settlements were former administrative centres of districts, and there were some institutions providing functions of a district centre. Owing to these factors until the beginning of the 1990s the number of the resident population somewhat decreased, but the local society was able to regulate and, in some cases, restrict in-migration. Another sign referring to the social restructuring of village societies is that these settlements have become open for the immigration of the poorest social groups by the drastic decline of real estate prices, as these people can afford to purchase only such houses that are in a very bad condition. In this way the village begins to be ghettoised, which leads to a further fall in real estate prices. At present in these settlements similar processes take place as those that were described in the 1980s by researchers reporting on the formation of the first ethnic ghettos in small villages.

6 The term *Cs-ház* ('Cs-house') refers to those houses that were built with the social political support of the state in the 1960s and 1970s, without any modern conveniences. Generally those houses are situated in outskirts, or at the end of the villages.

The change in the local society is indicated by the way the parents choose schools for their children. The non-Roma and not poor parents in these settlements have their children enrolled not for the local school but for the schools of the micro-regional centre. Thus the ratio of the Roma children at local schools further increases and the school of the village becomes a so-called 'Roma school'.

In the two primary schools of Encs, the micro-regional centre, with the exception of a primary school with two classes in a district densely populated by Roma people, the ratio of the Roma children is somewhat more than half of the micro-regional average (24.3%), which clearly indicates the exceptional position of the settlement and its schools. In the micro-region 7 per cent of the school-age children, 323 children study at primary schools outside the school alliances of their own settlements and the neighbouring villages (these schools are co-financed by the settlements). Two thirds of the children who do not study at their local schools attend the primary schools of Encs. In the first school 21 per cent of the children, in the second one 11.1% of the pupils are from other settlements. The number of children who study at the schools of Encs, although they are from settlements that are not members of the Encs school alliance is 199. It deserves attention that out of these 199 children only 5 were considered as Roma according to their teachers' information.

The non-Roma families of the micro-region, as they are unable to move away because of the depreciation of real estates, transform the only institution providing the chance of mobility according to their own interests: to ensure mobility conditions for their own children and in the meantime segregating the group of "chanceless" Roma children. As a result the schools have become polarised. So-called central schools came into being where the number of Roma children is lower than the settlement average. To these schools non-Roma and not poor parents from other settlements also have their children enrolled, hoping that these are the schools that may provide chances of mobility for their children. On the other hand, in the "Roma schools" the multiply disadvantaged (mainly Roma) children form the majority of the schoolchildren, whose further education without the presence of the pattern group, along with the problems and conflicts generated in the present structure of the Hungarian educational system is practically impossible. Along with this trend, the disadvantage derived from the inequalities of dwelling conditions is reinforced by the education system and this disadvantaged position is further inherited by the next generation.

To the fourth group I assign those settlements where the ratio of schoolchildren regarded as Roma is above 60%. In these settlements ethnic homogenisation is advanced, within the settlement there are parts of higher and lower status preserving traces of the former segregated parts of the village, the so-called "Gypsy-row". With the increase of the ratio of Roma people within the settlement newly segregated parts have come into being, but by now the whole village practically has turned into a "Gypsy-row". The inhabitants of these settlements are distanced both spatially and socially from other social strata, their relationship with outer social groups is minimal and strongly hierarchic, and there are no pattern or reference groups either.

In the micro-region under survey about every third adult of active age (between the age of 15 and 60) is employed, but in the ghettoised settlements, where the ratio of

school-age Roma children is beyond 60%, the situation is even worse: in these villages only every fourth adult has a job (26.5% of the adult population of active age). The majority of these people have only occasional jobs or they are employed as workers of public utility for shorter or longer periods of time. Most families try to make a living out of benefits and odd jobs. The majority of those villagers who have regular income are made up of the staff of the public catering and administrative institutions of the village: school, kindergarten, mayor's office, post office. In some luckier villages those who work in the local pub or shop may also have regular income. Practically they are the staff who operate the given social and ethnic ghetto, they have at their disposal all resources, with which they can reward loyalty and reliability, or, with which they can punish if those qualities are missing.

The withdrawal of the benefits, public utility job opportunities or often usurious loans may entail the complete existential decline of families. The disposal of resources and their distribution neglect formal legal relations and establish patron-client relations in an area that has remained stuck under pre-modern circumstances.

In these 17 settlements where the ratio of Roma children at the primary schools is over 60%, the ratio of the children under the age of 15 is the highest within the whole resident population in the micro-region. In the majority of these villages, where either there never have been or if there had been then later a considerable part of the social and educational institutions were closed down, every third villager is under the age of 15.

The local children are provided with the lowest quality of social and educational provision, as for them the health care system is made up of and represented by the district nurse, because of crowdedness these children spend only the compulsory one or two years at the kindergarten, although they are in very much need of nursery education, and if they are lucky in their first years of the primary education they do not have to go by bus to the next settlement's school with a bus schedule that is never adjusted to the school hours.

At the end of the 1980s in the Encs micro-region there were only one or two ghettoised small villages, by now their number has grown to 17. In these villages 39.2 percent of the school-age local children lives under ghettoised circumstances, completely segregated from the rest of the society. Yet, among the ghettoised settlements not only small villages but also settlements with more than 2000 local residents can be found. Among ghettoised settlements not only such villages can be found where there are no public institutions, but also villages, which formerly, as the administrative centre of a district, operated several such institutions. They are not only dead-end villages, but also settlements situated along the main road and having railway station too. Altogether, ghetto-formation has become a phenomenon in this micro-region, irrespective of the settlement size, which, in terms of form and extension, is a completely new pattern that cannot be interpreted with the formerly used categories of village, "Gypsy-row" and ghettoised small village. There is a strong overlap among those settlements, which nowadays are being ghettoised and which formerly had large "Gypsy-rows". *The Historical Gazetteer of Hungary* (1996) mentions in this micro-region the following villages having outskirts "Gypsy-settlements" between 1944–1952: Beret, Csenyété, Detek, Encs, Fügöd, Fáj,

Fulókércs, Szemere, Vizsoly. According to a survey on “Gypsy-settlements” carried out in 1964,⁷ whose only aim was to provide ground for the housing development and elimination of “Gypsy-row and settlements”, out of the settlements of the micro-region the following villages had “Gypsy-settlements”: Encs, Abaújkér, Abaújvár, Beret, Boldogkőváralja, Felsőgagy, Hernádcéce, Hernádpetri, Hernádvécse, Hidasnémeti, Ináncs, Krasznokvajda, Méra, Novajidrány, Szalaszend, Tornynosnémeti, Vilmány. Taking a look at the two lists of settlements, it can be seen that from the 1964 survey several such small villages situated in the inner part of the region are missing, where, at the beginning of the 1950s, the “Gypsy-rows” were still populated. The settlements were positioned in the foreground only when the non-Roma population’s removal was subsidised by the state with favourable house purchase loans. The loan for the purchase of empty houses was most frequent in places, where the real estate prices were low due to the lack of infrastructural investments and places of work. This trend of house purchase was met with the migration endeavours of the villagers: the out-migration of the families from the disadvantaged settlements was often „promoted” by the Roma families who by bank loans could buy the houses left-behind.

The purchase of houses took place usually with the effective support of the local councils (Havas 1976; 1999 Berey 1990). Nevertheless, from these settlements the “Gypsy sub-settlements” at the outskirts did not, in fact, disappear between 1952 and 1964. For instance, two villages out of these settlements, became ghettoised settlements by the end of the 1980s. At the same time in the majority of those settlements where the centrally planned elimination of “Gypsy-settlements” should have taken place, the spatial segregation, although at a higher level, was reproduced in the form of the so-called “Cs-ház”-settlement. With this argument I would like to draw attention to the fact that the settlement, housing and social policy of the State socialist regime considerably contributed to the establishment of ghettoised settlements.

In the 1990s with the social political support of the state, the “Cs-ház”-settlement of the socialist era were preserved, maintained and rebuilt. The majority of the “Cs-ház” houses with one or two rooms were demolished and larger houses with more rooms were built in the place of them, yet, their quality was quite similar to the former ones. With this measure a new generation of “Gypsy-settlements” came into being, the so-called “szocpolos” settlement, which ensures at least for another twenty years for the Roma families a spatially segregated existence.

In those settlements where in the 1980s considerable differences took shape among the Roma families, one of the spatial indicators of this status difference was the spread of ‘cubic houses’, similar to those of the non-Roma population, among the ‘proper’ Roma villagers. After the change of regime pauperisation, marginal existence and as a spatial marker of all this, the new style of “Gypsy-row”, called “szocpolos”, and the re-establishment of “Gypsy-settlements” within the villages are observable.

7 The survey on the “Gypsy-settlements” was co-ordinated by the Ministry of Housing and Public Construction. In course of the survey those buildings were regarded as forming a settlement, which formed a unit consisting of at least four parts and in which the living conditions were evaluated as unacceptable. The number of the buildings at the “Gypsy-settlements” of villages and towns is published in: Kertesi and Kézdi 1998: 297–312.

The ghettoised small villages and the larger “Gypsy-settlements” of the 1980s provided basis for that tendency of immigration, which even nowadays takes place in those settlements that have considerable population and which formerly functioned as centres of districts. As a result, the size of the ghettoised parts of settlements or the whole ghettoised settlement and the number of population living in these settlements are increasing.

During the socialist era the executives of the government decrees were not the settlements themselves but the districts. About preferential purchase of houses or about the building of Cs-houses decision was always made at the centre of the districts. In this way the joint councils directly could decide upon in which villages the Roma population should be concentrated. Another solution applied for the influence of the ethnic make-up of a settlement with the purpose of hindering the settlement of Roma people is when the villagers or the local council itself rather buys the houses for sale in order to avoid that Roma families may buy them. In this area, however, neither the villagers nor the local councils can afford to do so because of their limited financial resources.

The position of settlements without councils before the change of regime and that of the rural administration centres has become similar as it is indicated by the considerably decreasing real estate prices. Some larger settlements of the micro-region that functioned as rural administration centres with higher prestige in the 1980s by now have become open to the poor, usually Roma newcomers. Due to this, there are such settlements where at kindergarten and at school not only the ethnic and social make-up has changed, but the increase in the number of children also makes it difficult for these institutions to fulfil their functions at all.

Summarising the social changes of the micro-region concerned, it may be claimed that as a consequence of the structural transformation of state economy, accompanying the change of regime, job opportunities disappeared from this area, and in the meantime new job opportunities emerged only in such settlements, which were at such a distance that has made it impossible for the residents of this micro-region to make use of these opportunities. On the one hand selective out-migration went on, on the other hand, the demographic and ethnic constitution of those families who remained, as they were unable to move away, has changed: the rate of those persons who are under the age of fifteen within the whole micro-regional population is considerably higher than the county or the national average. Ethnic concentration has increased too. At present every fourth person in the micro region is under the age of fifteen and almost every second child is Roma.

In the middle of the 1980s there were only two small villages becoming ghettos, at present 17 ethnically segregated settlements can be found in the micro-region besides dozens of other villages approaching towards the state of ethnic segregation. As a result of massive unemployment and the demographic changes brought about by the exchange of population, not only more and more villages have become ghettos in the area, but the structure of local society has also changed. In each settlement either the majority of the inhabitants or, in more serious cases, the whole village community is excluded from the labour force market as well as from the education system, which could offer them social mobility. Thereby such a unique combination of social,

ethnic and spatial disadvantages came into being, which makes it completely impossible for the local people to break out from this situation. On the one hand, there are hardly any employment opportunities locally. On the other hand, since in this area the price of real estate properties is considerably less than in other parts of Hungary, families in these villages are deprived of the possibility of improving their livelihood by selling their houses and landed property and moving to such areas of the country where employment conditions would be more favourable for them. Whereas formerly only 'dead-end' small settlements became ghettos, by now ghettos are formed irrespective of settlement size, and by now the majority of the ghetto settlements form a contiguous area. Therefore these people are not only segregated from their own community, but the whole community of the settlements and the whole micro-region of ghetto villages is isolated from the rest of the country. This phenomenon has led to a new pattern of local segregation: the regional ghetto.

On the basis of the analyses so far, similarly to what Wilson described as the jobless ghetto, the ghettoised micro-region can be identified along the following criteria: (1) such demographic tendencies occur that are in opposition with the national tendencies, i.e. in the settlements of the micro-region the number of resident population increases. (2) Parallel with this, the rate of the population under the age of 15 within the resident population is higher than the national average. (3) Ethnic concentration is intensified. (4) The structure of the population in terms of economic activity and the employment of active – age persons are considerably below the national average. (5) All these phenomena can be pointed out in this case in a contiguous territorial unit. If all these criteria occur, the given territorial unit is a ghettoised micro-region, an area where the more and more younger and growing population over-represented by Roma people lives almost completely excluded from the world of work and these disadvantages via the radically segregated local educational system are inherited from one generation to another.

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